

UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE DISTRICT OF MASSACHUSETTS

ARISE FOR SOCIAL JUSTICE; *¿OISTE?*;
NEW ENGLAND STATE-AREA
CONFERENCE OF THE NAACP; REV.
TALBERT W. SWAN, II; GUMERSINDO
GOMEZ; FRANK BUNTIN; RAFAEL
RODRIQUEZ; and DIANA NURSE,

Plaintiffs,

Civil Action No. 05-30080 MAP

v.

CITY OF SPRINGFIELD and SPRINGFIELD
ELECTION COMMISSION,

Defendants.

**AFFIDAVIT OF CAROL LEWIS-CAULTON IN SUPPORT OF
PLAINTIFFS' MOTION FOR PRELIMINARY INJUNCTION**

I, Carol Lewis-Caulton, hereby certify as follows:

1) I reside at 63 Navajo Road in Springfield, Massachusetts. I have lived in Springfield over 61 years. I submit this affidavit in support of Plaintiffs' Motion for Preliminary Injunction in the above-captioned case. I have personal knowledge of the facts stated in this Affidavit.

2) I ran for a seat on the Springfield, Massachusetts City Council ("City Council") in 1997, 1999, 2001 and 2003. In 1997, I lost the election. In 1999, I won a seat on the City Council by a very small margin, and then served as a City Councilor for a single, two-year term. I lost my campaign for re-election in 2001. Again in 2003 I ran for City Council, and lost.

3) I am the only African-American woman ever elected to the City Council.

4) Sometime toward the beginning of my 1997 campaign, I had a conversation with a Massachusetts state legislator about my candidacy for City Council. The state legislator advised me that I should not campaign with Black men, as it was her impression that it would hurt my candidacy because white voters would find Black men threatening or intimidating.

5) During each of my campaigns for City Council, Mr. Errol Campbell, an African-American man, has worked as my campaign manager. In addition, several other African-American men regularly helped with my campaigns.

6) At the beginning of the 1997 campaign, I regularly appeared with Mr. Campbell, and with other African-American men, while campaigning. At some point during the 1997 campaign, Mr. Campbell and I decided that he, and other African-American men, would not attend certain campaign events in predominantly white neighborhoods. I noticed that my reception in predominantly white neighborhoods was different when I appeared either alone, or with my sister, who often accompanied me while campaigning, than it was when I appeared with Mr. Campbell or with other African-American men. When I was accompanied by African-American men in predominantly white neighborhoods, I felt that I was received much less openly due to behavior that I perceived as race-based. I did not have the same feeling when I was accompanied by African-American men in predominantly African-American or Latino/Hispanic neighborhoods.

7) After losing the 1997 campaign, Mr. Campbell and I decided that we would employ the strategy of limiting my appearance with African-American men in predominantly white neighborhoods with greater frequency. Mr. Campbell and other African-American men rarely accompanied me in predominantly white neighborhoods during the 1999, 2001 and 2003 campaigns.

8) Additionally, Mr. Campbell and I decided that African-American men should not appear at "stand-outs" for me in predominantly white neighborhoods. At a stand-out, volunteers would typically hold my campaign signs and wave at passers-by in busy intersections. Mr. Campbell started organizing stand-outs during the 1999 campaign, and continued to do so during the 2001 and 2003 campaigns. For about one month before election day, volunteers would do about three stand-outs per week for me, each at a different location in Springfield. For stand-outs in predominantly African-American or Latino/Hispanic neighborhoods, Mr. Campbell and other African-American men would participate. Generally, Mr. Campbell did not have difficulty recruiting African-American or Latino/Hispanic volunteers to appear at stand-outs. For stand-outs in predominantly white neighborhoods, Mr. Campbell would generally not participate; instead, he would go to the location of the stand-out to distribute campaign signs to the volunteers, but would wait in his car. Mr. Campbell had difficulty recruiting enough white supporters from Springfield to appear at stand-outs for me. After continued difficulty recruiting white volunteers from Springfield, Mr. Campbell began to recruit white individuals from outside of Springfield to participate in stand-outs in predominantly white neighborhoods. African-American men only participated in stand-outs in predominantly white neighborhoods when there were not enough white volunteers.

9) I believe that some unique factors contributed to my winning a seat on the City Council in 1999. In particular, one woman incumbent decided not to run for re-election, and did not submit nomination papers. A second woman incumbent withdrew from the race after the deadline for submitting nomination papers for certification had passed, but before the election. Because of the second incumbent candidate's late withdrawal, additional candidates could not be added to the ballot for that election. Due to the two women incumbents' decisions not to seek re-

election, there were no women incumbent candidates running for City Council by election day. I won the ninth and final seat on the City Council in the 1999 election, by a very small margin.

10) After not winning **re-election** in 2001, and then **losing** again in the 2003 election, I ultimately concluded that the at-large system would prevent my **re-election** to the City Council, and **decided** not to run again after the 2003 election. I believe that I would have been re-elected to the City Council, but **for** the at-large system.

11) There is a general feeling **in** the African-American community in Springfield that it is futile for an African-American candidate to run for City Council in the **at-large system**, because of the cost of running an at-large campaign, and because voters in the City of Springfield tend to vote **along** racial and ethnic lines.

Signed under penalties of perjury, this 14th day of July, 2005,

Carol Lewis-Caulton
Carol Lewis-Caulton